I suggest that neither a liberal society nor a constitutional order are responsible for the evils he mentions. The "fault" does not reside in principles of political liberalism but in the type of economic order selected together with the values implied by that economic system. If capitalism hinders the realization of liberal ideals, then capitalism rather than liberalism must be abandoned. That is, capitalist economic arrangements must be replaced by some form of public ownership and/or control of the means of production, and the primarily acquisitive, competitive values of capitalism must yield to an ethos which emphasizes and encourages cooperation and interdependence.

I thus agree with Mr. Hixson's conclusion that what is needed is a new liberal theory which starts from the premise that traditional capitalism is dead and that the emerging corporate system is incompatible not only with the constitutional order but with the welfare of the American people. But the principles of this new liberalism must be stated clearly if they are to "engage the deepest sentiments of the people" and inspire the politically inarticulate members of Mr. Hixson's lower-income groups to organize against corporate power. A liberal worldview embraces principles and assumptions which are sound and have continuing validity. Among such assumptions are these: (1) that men are neither angels who have no need of government nor devils who cannot be restrained, a truism which makes government both necessary and possible; (2) that the pursuit of rational self-interest by individuals requires that power be balanced with power in government and society; (3) that the rich variety and manysidedness of life imply both a potential for conflict and a need for the quintessential liberal virtue of tolerance. Among the ideals of liberalism which still recommend themselves as worthy of attainment are these: a stress on the primacy and dignity of the individual; the trinity of liberty ("positive" freedom for moral self-development), equality, and the much-neglected virtue of fraternity; a conviction that human reason can fashion solutions to social problems, and the corollary notion that society must therefore allow open channels for communications of knowledge and opinion.

In short, I believe that the ideals of political liberalism deserve a better press than Mr. Hixson gives them, and that liberalism stands for more than simply the rational pursuit of self-interest. Liberal ideals cannot be realized, however, without some change in our economic arrangements. To be a genuine liberal in an advanced industrial society it is necessary to be a social democrat.

MARY C. SEGERS Dept. of Political Science Rutgers University, Newark

### Paton's plight

Groton, Mass.

To the Editors: I am in total agreement with Mr. Paton about the role of the U.S. in South African affairs ("Why I stay in South Africa," Nov. 10). The time has

come for the U.S. to do more than just pay lip service to the ideals of racial equality. It will take firm action on our part to get across to the South Africans our distaste for their apartheid policies.

We should stop sending arms to South Africa; we should stop all further investment in the country; and we should do everything in our power to try to bring about equal rule for the blacks in South Africa. The South African government will be forced to change no matter what the U.S. does; no country can ride roughshed over the majority of the people and get away with it forever. Sooner or later, the volcano of hatred for the apartheid policies will erupt; the South African government which has ignored this problem for so long will be destroyed, and the dreams of martyrs like Steven Biko will be realized. The U.S. can only hasten and ease this process, and by so doing we will have eased the pain of those who are oppressed now.

I can only sympathize with Mr. Paton and his plight; he has a very difficult decision. He must decide whether or not he should leave his native land because of its brutal policies. I urge him to stay. It is very important that there be a voice in South Africa that will tell the world the truth about the happenings in South Africa; Mr. Paton has the ability to capture the attention of the world. In his essays and his novels, Mr. Paton has proved himself to be this sort of voice; he has eloquently expressed the agonies of the blacks in South Africa. I only hope that his voice will continue to cry out.

JUDSON REIS

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